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ACTION G-00

INFO LOG-00 OASY-00 ANHR-01 TEDE-00 ADS-00 SS-00 /001W  
-----775301 281311Z /38

O 281229Z SEP 94  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0087

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FOR UNDER SECRETARY WIRTH FROM AMBASSADOR

ALSO FOR AF AND AF/C

E.O. 12356: N/A  
TAGS: PREL, EAID, RW, US  
SUBJECT: HELPING RWANDA HELP ITSELF: NEXT STEPS

1. INFORMED BY EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS OVER THE PAST DAYS WITH DAS BUSHNELL AND YOURSELF, I OFFER BELOW A VISION OF WHAT WE MIGHT QUICKLY DO IN RWANDA. I AM CONVINCED THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE GOALS OF BRINGING ALL RWANDANS BACK HOME, ESTABLISHING SECURITY AND JUSTICE, RESTORING GOVERNMENT SERVICES AND BREAKING THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE THAT HAS TRAUMATIZED THIS REGION; THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER REAFFIRMED THOSE PRINCIPLES YESTERDAY. BUT THE GOVERNMENT WILL FAIL UNLESS WE HELP IT ACHIEVE ITS LAUDABLE OBJECTIVES. OUR HUMANITARIAN INTERESTS AND COMMITMENT TO JUSTICE CAUSE US

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TO ENGAGE IN ASSISTING THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT ESPECIALLY IN THESE DIFFICULT START-UP DAYS.

2. TWO FACTORS CHALLENGE AN OPTIMISTIC VISION OF RWANDA'S FUTURE: THE GERSONY INVESTIGATION, ADDING MORE WEIGHT TO SUSPICIONS OF RPA ATTACKS ON INNOCENT CIVILIAN POPULATIONS, AND, THE RESTIVENESS OF HUTU ARMY AND MILITIA ON RWANDA'S BORDERS. BOTH FACTORS SHOULD HASTEN OUR ASSISTANCE RATHER THAN DETER IT. WE CAN SAVE RWANDAN LIVES BY HELPING THE GOVERNMENT BRING TO JUSTICE OUTLAWS

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WHO ARE KILLING PEOPLE IN THE SOUTH EAST. WE CAN BRING STABILITY BACK TO THE REGION BY GIVING RWANDAN REFUGEES THE SECURE RIGHT TO RETURN HOME SHOULD THEY CHOOSE. I SEE A NEED FOR IMMEDIATE HELP IN TWO AREAS -- JUSTICE AND RESETTLEMENT; AND, MEDIUM-TERM ASSISTANCE IN AN ADDITIONAL THREE -- GOVERNMENT REFORM, POPULATION AND INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT. ACTIONS WE COULD UNDERTAKE IN THESE AREAS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

A: JUSTICE:

1. INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL: SUPPORT THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS' CALL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL WITH IMMEDIATE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION.

2. INVESTIGATIONS: RECRUIT FOLLOW-ON TEAM TO PURSUE INVESTIGATION OF GENOCIDE; EXTEND MCCABE'S TOUR AS REQUESTED BY HRC BILL CLARENCE.

3. MONITORS: RECRUIT EX-PEACE CORPS RWANDA VOLUNTEERS FOR UNV/HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER MONITOR POSITIONS.

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4. NATIONAL JUDICIAL SYSTEM: USE AVAILABLE GOVERNANCE (DIG OR GSA ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT) FUNDS TO REHABILITATE COURTS, ESTABLISH RECORD SYSTEMS AND TRAIN JURISTS.

5. POLICE: SUPPORT U/S ANNAN'S REQUEST TO TRANSFER ICITAP POLICE TRAINING FROM SOMALIA TO RWANDA. (NAIROBI 17257) THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE TOLD ME THAT HE DESPERATELY NEEDS A FORCE TRAINED IN CIVILIAN POLICE FUNCTIONS.

6. JUSTICE AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: FILL USIS PAO SLOT WITH TDY JUDICIAL EXPERT WHO WOULD DEVELOP CIVIL SOCIETY SUPPORT OF JUDICIAL SYSTEMS AND RULE OF LAW.

B: RESETTLEMENT: THE ONLY HUMANE FUTURE FOR DISPLACED AND REFUGEE RWANDANS IS REPATRIATION AND RESETTLEMENT IN A SECURE ENVIRONMENT ON THEIR OWN HILLSIDES OR WITHIN THEIR OWN TOWNSHIPS. ACTIONS TO THIS END INCLUDE:

1. ENHANCE REFUGEE CAMP SECURITY: FAR AND MILITIA MUST BE REMOVED FROM CAMPS AND REFUGEES GIVEN SECURITY TO DECIDE WHETHER TO RETURN HOME. THIS COULD REQUIRE

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TEMPORARY SECURITY MEASURES BY FRENCH FORCES IN GOMA OR A  
UNAMIR CONTINGENT IN NGARA AND GOMA.

2. BREAK UP BENACO CAMP. BENACO IS INCREASINGLY  
UNTENABLE FROM A SANITATION, WATER AND HEALTH POINT OF  
VIEW, NOT TO MENTION THE AUGMENTED FAR MILITARY PRESENCE  
THERE. THE CAMP SHOULD BE BROKEN UP AS A MATTER OF FIRST  
PRIORITY; WE MUST ACCELERATE DEPLOYMENT OF UNAMIR, NGO'S  
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AND MONITORS TO RWANDA'S SOUTHEAST TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE  
FOR THE BULK OF REFUGEES TO RETURN HOME.

3. REDUCE POPULATIONS IN ZONE 4. RAINS WILL MAKE  
MANY CAMPS AROUND GIKONGORO IN ZONE 4 INACCESSIBLE.  
DISPLACED WILL MOVE HOME HUNGRY, WET AND MISERABLE ON  
THEIR OWN, OR WITH SOME DIGNITY, ASSISTANCE AND SECURITY  
IF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HELPS THEM. UN ORGANIZATIONS  
SHOULD

SPEED UP PROCESS OF TRANSPORTING DISPLACED BACK  
EAST; FUNDING FOR NGO'S SHOULD FOCUS ON RESETTLEMENT  
SUPPORT PACKAGES FOR BUTARE, GITARAMA AND EAST.

4. NATIONAL COMMISSION ON RESETTLEMENT. IF THE  
RWANDAN GOVERNMENT IS TO KEEP ITS PLEDGE TO RETURN HOMES  
AND LANDS TO RIGHTFUL OWNERS, IT WILL NEED TECHNICAL HELP  
WITH ADMINISTRATION OF THE NATIONAL RESETTLEMENT  
COMMISSION TO RESOLVE SUCH ISSUES AS LAND TENURE,

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-----775309 281312Z /38

O 281229Z SEP 94  
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PROPERTY RIGHTS AND LAND SURVEY. (LAND TENURE CENTER AT  
U. OF WISCONSIN MIGHT BE ABLE TO HELP; WE MIGHT CONSIDER  
A HOUSING PROGRAM UNDER RHUDO).

C. GOVERNMENT REFORM. NOW THAT WE ARE STARTING WITH  
CARTE BLANCHE, WE MIGHT MORE READILY THAN BEFORE HELP  
INTRODUCE PRINCIPLES OF TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY  
INTO GOVERNMENT PRACTICE. OUR GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC  
REFORM (BUD/SER) PACKAGE MIGHT WORK WITH THIS NEW TEAM.  
I RECOMMEND THAT:

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1. WE REVISIT THE ELEMENTS OF THE BUD/SER PACKAGE  
PREVIOUSLY NEGOTIATED WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND CHECK OUT  
ITS APPLICABILITY WITH THE CURRENT ADMINISTRATION.

2. IF THIS ADMINISTRATION CAN ACCEPT THE REFORM  
CONDITIONALITIES OF THAT PACKAGE, WE USE BUD/SER AS AN  
INSTRUMENT FOR SUPPORT TO THE GENERAL BUDGET IN THE FORM  
OF \$2 MILLION CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD BANK ARREARAGES.

D. POPULATION. WE CANNOT BE SERIOUS ABOUT HUMANITARIAN  
OR DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE TO RWANDA UNLESS WE ADDRESS  
POPULATION ISSUES. WE SHOULD:

1. EXPAND TO CAMPS IN ZAIRE THE MODEL PSI/CARE AIDS  
PROGRAM BEING CARRIED OUT WITH AID (AIDSCAP) FUNDING IN

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BENACO CAMP.

2. REVIEW WITH THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, ESPECIALLY WITH THE MINISTER OF HEALTH WHO IS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT POPULATION PROGRAMS, THE GOALS OF OUR RWANDA INTEGRATED MATERNAL/CHILD HEALTH (RIMS) PROJECT AND TAILOR THAT PROJECT TO RWANDA'S NEW NEEDS.

E. ENVIRONMENT. RWANDA HAS A PRECIOUS BUT ENDANGERED BIOLOGICAL HERITAGE (INCLUDING ITS OWN PEOPLE) BUT LACKS THE RESOURCES AND SKILLS TO PRESERVE IT. WE SHOULD:

1. SUPPORT DEMINING TRAINING FOR RWANDAN SECURITY FORCES AND EOD/MINES EDUCATION FOR SCHOOLS.

2. CONCERT WITH SWISS TO REVIVE SPECIES PROTECTION, PUBLIC EDUCATION AND ECO-TOURISM OF NYUNGWE FOREST.

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3. ASSIST PRIVATE FOUNDATIONS IN RESTORING KARISOKE AND KINIGI RESEARCH STATIONS IN THE MOUNTAIN GORILLA PARK OF VIRUNGA.

3. WE NEED TO GIVE RWANDA A CHANCE. THE ABOVE PROGRAM CAN BE REVIVED WITHIN THE NEXT SIX MONTHS AND HELP RWANDA IN THE PARTICULAR AREAS OF OUR EXPERTISE AND EXPERIENCE IN THIS COUNTRY. FOR THE LONGER TERM, WE SHOULD LOOK AT DEMOBLLIZATION IN THE CONTEXT OF PRIMARY EDUCATION, TECHNICAL TRAINING AND PRIVATE SECTOR PROMOTION. WE SHOULD USE MILITARY TRAINING AS A TOOL TO LEVERAGE EFFECTIVE INTEGRATION OF THE ARMED SERVICES.

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